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MFG. 1-72

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 12692

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SUBJECT: STAFFDEL LOWENSTEIN/MOOSE/ASHWORTH

REF: STATE 193384

SUMMARY: SFRC STAFFERS MOOSE AND ASHWORTH DEVOTED JAPAN VISIT TO WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSIONS OF JAPAN'S ROLE IN WORLD AND US MILITARY PRESENCE IN JAPAN. THOUGH INTERESTS DIFFERED, BOTH SAID (AND ACTED AS IF) THEY VIEWED VISIT PRIMARILY AS EDUCATIONAL EFFORT. MOOSE INDICATED PERSONAL INTEREST IN STIMULATING SFRC TO HOLD PUBLIC HEARINGS ON JAPAN, SIMILAR TO EARLIER HEARINGS ON CHINA. END SUMMARY.

1. FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE STAFF CONSULTANTS MOOSE AND ASHWORTH VISITED TOKYO AREA NOVEMBER 20-21 AND ASHWORTH ALONE VISITED NAHA NOV 18-19. LOWENSTEIN CANCELLED JAPAN PORTION OF HIS ASIAN TRIP. THIS REPORT COVERS STAFF DEL'S DISCUSSIONS WITH EMBASSY OFFICERS IN TOKYO AND CONGEN IN NAHA. BRIEFINGS AT US BASES IN TOKYO AREA AND OKINAWA WILL BE SUBJECT OF SEPARATE REPORT FROM USFJ.

2. MOOSE AND ASHWORTH MET FOR TWO HOUR SESSION WITH DCM, POLITICAL AND POL/MIL COUNSELORS WHICH CONSISTED OF BROAD DISCUSSION OF JAPANESE POLICIES AND AIMS IN WAKE OF

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NIXON AND TANAKA VISITS TO PRC, POSSIBLE JAPANESE ROLE IN POST-VIETNAM ASIA, GOJ'S 4TH DEFENSE BUILD-UP PLAN, AND TRENDS TOWARD GREATER QTE INDEPENDENCE UNQTE IN JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY. BOTH MOOSE AND ASHWORTH SEEMED GENUINELY INTERESTED IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT ADMITTEDLY COMPLEX SITUATION; THEY SEEMED TO HAVE NO PRECONCEPTIONS ABOUT US POLICIES HERE OR JAPANESE ATTITUDES. ALTHOUGH THEY WERE OF COURSE INTERESTED IN US-GOJ SECURITY RELATIONSHIP AND PROBLEMS OF US BASES HERE, THEIR QUESTIONS DEALT WITH THIS AS PART OF A LARGER WHOLE. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH OTHER EMBOFFS, MOOSE ASKED MORE SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ABOUT JAPAN'S CHINA POLICY, JAPAN'S ATTITUDE TOWARD TAIWAN AND KOREA, JAPANESE POLICY TOWARD NORTH KOREA AND JAPANESE PERCEPTION OF ASIAN ATTITUDES ABOUT JAPAN.

3. IN ADDITIONAL CONVERSATION WITH POL/MIL COUNSELOR, ASHWORTH FOCUSED QUESTIONS ON VARIOUS FACTORS AFFECTING US MILITARY PRESENCE IN JAPAN. HE INQUIRED ABOUT US BUDGETARY CONSTRAINTS ON AMERICAN PRESENCE, SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS SUCH AS LOCATION OF US BASES IN CONGESTED URBAN AREAS, JAPANESE INABILITY TO PERCEIVE DIRECT MILITARY THREAT TO JAPAN, GROWING QTE INDEPENDENCE UNQTE OF JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY, OPPOSITION PARTY EXPLOITATION OF BASE ISSUES, ETC. IN INFORMAL CONVERSATION WITH CONTROL OFFICER, ASHWORTH EXPRESSED VIEW THAT US SHOULD CAREFULLY DEFINE REQUIREMENTS IN JAPAN AND ADJUST PRESENCE TO THAT LEVEL, RATHER THAN WAIT FOR BUDGETARY AND JAPANESE DOMESTIC PRESSURES TO FORCE REDUCTIONS UPON US.

4. ASHWORTH DISCUSSED FOREIGN MILITARY SALES PROGRAM WITH MDAO. HE INQUIRED ABOUT ORGANIZATION AND MISSION OF MDAO, GOJ'S FOURTH DEFENSE BUILD-UP PLAN, JDA PROCUREMENT PRACTICES, AIRCRAFT SALES AND RESIDUAL MAP EQUIPMENT.

5. IN DISCUSSIONS WITH CONGEN NAHA, ASHWORTH DESCRIBED DECISION TO VISIT OKINAWA AS EXPLOITATION OF OPPORTUNITY TO FAMILIARIZE HIMSELF WITH US MILITARY INSTALLATION, ACTIVITIES AND INTERESTS IN AREA AGAINST PROBABLE FUTURE COMMITTEE REQUIREMENTS. ASHWORTH HAD NEVER VISITED THIS AREA BEFORE. IN TALKS WITH CONGEN,

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ASHWORTH BORE IN ON COMMAND STRUCTURE AND INTER-AGENCY RELATIONSHIP. CONGEN ACKNOWLEDGED ROUGH SPOTS DURING INITIAL POST-REVERSION PERIOD, BUT GENERALLY GAVE UP-BEAT PICTURE OF OUR CONDUCT OF PRESENCE IN OKINAWA. ASHWORTH ALSO ASKED NUMBER OF QUESTIONS RELATING TO BASE CONSOLIDATION PLANS AND WAS TOLD THAT US MILITARY PRESENTLY CONSIDERING SPECIFIC FUTURE REQUIREMENTS AND THAT THEIR CONCLUSIONS ULTIMATELY WOULD BE APRT OF BASIS FOR CONSOLIDATION TALKS WITH JAPANESE SIDE.

6. IN ADDITION TO CONTACTS WITH EMBASSY, STAFFDEL MET WITH JAPANESE IN GOVERNMENT (MATSUDA OF SECURITY DIVISITON, FUKADA OF 1ST NORTH AMERICA AFFAIRS, NAKAHIRA OF NORTHEAST ASIA DIVISION AND KIUCHI FROM PRIMIN'S OFFICE), WITH MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES (ISHIZUKA OF MAINICHI AND TORII OF FUJI TV) AND WITH MILITARY CRITIC TADAO KUSUMI. STAFFDEL APPARENTLY PURSUED SAME GENERAL LINE OF INQUIRY WITH JAPANESE CONTACTS AS WITH EMBASSY.

7. EMBASSY PROVIDED STAFFDELS WITH COPIES OF FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS: (A) NIXON-SATO JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF NOV 1969, (B) NIXON-TANAKA JOINT STATEMENT OF SEP 1972, (C) ASST SEC GREEN'S INTERVIEW WITH SPENCER DAVIS (STATE 204344), (D) EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF GOJ'S SEPT 9 POLICY STATEMENT OF FOURTH DEFENSE BUILD-UP PLAN (TOKYO 10789), (E) EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF GOJ'S SEPT 9 OUTLINE OF MAJOR ITEMS IN FOURTH DEFENSE BUILD-UP PLAN (TOKYO 10788). IN ADDITION STAFFDEL WAS SHOWN BUT NOT GIVEN COPIES OF SEVERAL REPORTING TELEGRAMS OF JAPANESE DIET HEARINGS WHICH TOUCHED UPON FOURTH DEFENSE BUILD-UP PLAN (TOKYO'S 11527, 11620 AND 11702). COPIES OF ALL THESE DOCUMENTS ARE READILY AVAILABLE IN WASHINGTON.

7. COMMENT: ON DEPARTURE, STAFFDEL COMMENTED THAT VISIT HAD BEEN VERY USEFUL IN UPDATING THEIR IMPRESSIONS OF JAPAN. BOTH MOOSE AND ASHWORTH WERE HIGHLY COMPLIMENTARY OF BRIEFINGS THEY HAD RECEIVED FROM JAPAN COUNTRY DIRECTORATE IN WASHINGTON. MOOSE INDICATED TO POLCOUNS THAT HIS REPORT WOULD BE DEVOTED PRIMARILY TO KOREA AND PHILLIPPINES AND THAT HE DID NOT EXPECT TO DEAL SUBSTANTIVELY WITH JAPAN. SPEAKING PERSONALLY, MOOSE

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SAID HE HOPED TO INTEREST SFRC IN HOLDING HEARINGS ON JAPAN SIMILAR TO EARLIER CONSIDERATION OF CHINA. SUCH HEARINGS, HE BELIEVED, COULD ONLY BE USEFUL IF THEY WERE OBJECTIVE AND NON-CONTENTIOUS, DESIGNED TO ILLUMINATE PUBLIC OPINION AND CLARIFY POLICY. HE INDICATED HE HAD NOT DISCUSSED PLAN WITH COMMITTEE MEMBERS OR OTHER STAFF. ASHWORTH INDICATED HE WAS SEEKING TO FAMILIARIZE HIMSELF WITH AREA AND THAT HE WAS NOT PREPARING FOR ANY SPECIFIC COMMITTEE HEARINGS. NEVERTHELESS, HE WILL PROBABLY INCLUDE REFERENCES TO JAPAN IN ANY REPORT HE PREPARES UPON RETURN FOR SFRC CONCERNING HIS FINDINGS RE OVERALL US MILITARY PRESENCE IN ASIA. GDSINGERSOLL

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